

UNITED STATES. No. 3 (1862).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

PUBLICATION IN THE UNITED STATES

OF

INCITEMENTS TO OUTRAGES

IN

ENGLAND.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1862.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

[C.—3194.] Price 1d.

LIST OF PAPERS.

No.	Page				
1. Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton,	June 24, 1881 1
2. Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville,	June 27, — 2
3. Earl Granville to Mr. Drummond	July 28, — 3
4. Earl Granville to Mr. West	April 27, 1882 3

Correspondence respecting the Publication in the United States of Incitements to Outrages in England.

No. 1.

Karl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 24, 1881.

I HAVE felt it my duty to call the attention of the United States' Minister to the publication at New York, in the newspaper called the "United Irishman," of direct incitements to murder, incendiarism, and other outrages in England.

I showed to him some of the copies of this newspaper, published on the 23rd and 30th April, 14th, 21st, and 28th May, and 4th and 11th June.

It is probable that the recent numbers of which a summary has been telegraphed to England will prove to be of a still more atrocious character, with this important additional circumstance, that the references to them in the English newspapers have made the public in England familiar with their contents.

I pointed out to him some of the more disgraceful paragraphs, though many almost as bad might be found pervading the whole of the newspapers.

The writers of these paragraphs—

1. Advocate, in general terms, acts of incendiarism in all the great towns in England.

2. Propose, in distinct terms, the blowing up of the train conveying the Prince of Wales

3. Profess knowledge of the intention to murder Mr. Gladstone, and to have been given a sum of 500 dollars for expenses, which is now at the command of men who will try "to do their work . . . in spite of the police officials of Cheshire, Flintshire, and Hawarden Castle."

4. Claim the authorship of the explosion at Salford, where a boy was killed and a woman seriously injured.

5. Assert generally that they have brought about various fires in London and elsewhere.

6. Lay claim to having accomplished the destruction of Her Majesty's ship "Doterel," and intimate that they have taken measures for the destruction of other ships in a similar manner.

7. Canvass for subscriptions for the promotion of these purposes, publish letters professing to send money for these objects, and declare that they have remitted funds to persons in America and England to aid in their accomplishment.

8. Distinctly assert that the attempted explosion at the Mansion House was their work.

I remarked that no civilized Government would tolerate the keeping of an office to collect and distribute money publicly for the purpose of murder and incendiarism against individuals within their own borders. The same rule applies with equal force to an open trade in assassination and arson, aimed at the public and at private persons in a friendly country.

It is, I observed, difficult in a free country to deal with secret conspiracies without intruding on the freedom of the subject. The English Government has found the embarrassments arising from plots of this nature.

But such difficulties do not arise where such criminal designs are openly avowed and publicly carried out. There is no principle at stake in restraining such machinations which the most liberal Government would desire to protect.

I said that I had little doubt that many, if not all, of the assertions in these publications were untrue, and that the subscription lists were in a great measure

mere decoys; but it was impossible to regard these publications entirely as idle brag. Such things bore fruit by inducing paid adventurers to engage in reckless enterprises, on the chance of escape, or even at the risk of conviction, in the belief that they could afterwards count upon being, when released from punishment, received in America and kept for the rest of their lives in idleness on the subscriptions of ignorant sympathisers.

I said that the excellent relations which now exist between this country and the United States were founded upon feelings, not only of interest, but of mutual sympathy and respect. It would be inconsistent with such feelings if Her Majesty's Government had refrained from representing to the American Government the facts which had come to their knowledge. They felt convinced that if the circumstances had been reversed, the United States' Government would have felt it their duty to make a similar communication, and such representations would certainly have met with a due response.

I concluded by stating that Her Majesty's Government left the matter with full confidence to the consideration of the President and his Government.

Mr. Lowell listened with attention to what I had said, and then remarked that he should have recommended our not making any representations, because he did not see how the Government of the United States could give effect to them in a judicious manner. But he promised to forward them immediately to his Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

Sir E. Thornton to Earl Granville.—(Received July 10.)

(Extract.)

Washington, June 27, 1861.

ON the 23rd instant I called at the State Department for the purpose of having some conversation with Mr. Blaine. I learnt, however, that he had not been there on that day, although it was Thursday, which has been considered by Mr. Blaine's predecessors as the one reserved for receiving the foreign Ministers.

I therefore went to Mr. Blaine's house, where I found him. I began by saying that I had come to speak to him, unofficially and without instructions, about the very violent and hostile language which was being made use of by certain newspapers published at New York which supported the pretensions of the Fenians, and by O'Donovan Rossa, and other men of that class, who were exciting to murder and destruction of property in England and Ireland. I alluded to telegrams which had been transmitted from England within the last two or three days, in which it was stated that Her Majesty's Government had made a representation to that of the United States with regard to this incendiary language; but I informed him that I had as yet received no intimation of such a step having been taken. I inquired of him, however, whether the Government had no power to restrain this hostile language towards a friendly nation, whether it were circulated in newspapers, or delivered at public meetings.

Mr. Blaine replied that it had been the habit in this country to allow the greatest freedom of speech, even more so than in England, both in the newspapers and at public meetings, and that no harm had apparently arisen from it. On the present occasion, the language which had recently been used by the Fenians had been treated with the greatest contempt by the vast majority of Americans, and had exercised no influence whatever, except among the Irish, until the arrival of the recent telegrams from England had given it a certain importance owing to the remonstrance alleged to have been made against it by Her Majesty's Government.

If, however, he continued, the United States' Government should be able to discover that armed expeditions were being prepared in this country with hostile intentions against Her Majesty's Government, or that schemes were being concocted for the destruction of life or property in Great Britain by means of explosives manufactured here, it would take the most energetic measures to prevent such expeditions, and frustrate schemes of that nature.

I replied that I had reason to believe that conspiracies for the destruction of property in England by means of explosives were being conceived and even prepared in this country, but that it was almost impossible for me to point out with any degree of certainty the persons implicated in these crimes, or the places at which explosive machines are actually being manufactured.

I then drew Mr. Blaine's attention to the recent departure for Ireland of Stephen J. Meany, I pointed out to him that there could be little doubt that the object of Meany's mission was to excite the people in Ireland to resistance to Her Majesty's authorities, and possibly to commit such acts as would force them to order his arrest, in the hope that such a proceeding would lead to had feeling and dissension between the two Governments. I added that, however criminal such resistance might be on the part of Irishmen living in Ireland, it was possible that they might have some imaginary grievance which might give them a pretext for such conduct. But that it would be still more unpardonable on the part of a man who, like Meany, had thrown off his allegiance to Great Britain, had adopted another country whose protection he invoked, and had no right to complain of any measures which might be taken by Her Majesty's authorities, nor to violate the laws of Great Britain.

No. 3.

Earl Granville to Mr. Drummond.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1881.

I HAVE received Sir E. Thornton's despatch of the 27th ultimo, narrating the substance of a conversation he had had with Mr. Blaine on the subject of the violent and hostile language used by certain newspapers published at New York in support of the agitation which is being excited against this country by the Fenians, and by O'Donovan Rossa and others, who advocate murder and the destruction of property in England and Ireland.

I have to state to you that the representations upon this subject which have been made to Mr. Blaine by Sir E. Thornton are entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government; and I request that you will state to Mr. Blaine that they have learned with satisfaction, from Sir E. Thornton's report of this conversation, that there would appear, from the general tenour of the remarks made by Mr. Blaine on this occasion, to be a complete harmony in his views with those of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the criminality of the designs indicated in these newspapers.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

Earl Granville to Mr. West.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 27, 1882.

WITH reference to the correspondence which is being laid before Parliament respecting the publication in the United States of incitements to outrages in England, I think it as well to state to you that Sir E. Thornton, who was at that time Her Majesty's Representative at Washington, reported to me last summer that he had been confidentially informed, through a trustworthy source, that the Government of the United States were not disposed to take up too warmly the cause of American citizens, whether native or naturalised, who went to England or Ireland with the express object of agitating, and of then appealing to their Government for protection. It was considered that there was no reason why such Americans should be entitled to better treatment than Irishmen, nor did it seem just that an Irishman should be punished for acts for which an American would have been exempt from punishment.

Sir E. Thornton's informant added that it was not probable that protection would be extended by the Government of the United States to Irishmen who had come there for the sole purpose of being naturalized, and had subsequently returned to their own country and established themselves in some business, which proved that the naturalization was a mere pretext, and indicated no real desire to become a genuine citizen of the United States.

He also alluded to the case of an Irishman who, having a trade in Ireland, had come to America to declare his intention to become a citizen, had gone back to follow his trade, had in due time come back to be naturalized, and had finally returned again to establish himself in Ireland, but with his certificate in his pocket as a citizen of the United States.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Commissioner of the Fisheries in the
United States of America to Congress in
England

1884

*Printed in both House of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty 1884.*